

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00102 01 OF 02 211903Z

44

ACTION ACDA-19

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0102

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: INCLUSION OF SOVIETS IN PHASE II

1. BELOW IS TEXT OF INFORMAL MEMORANDUM ON ISSUE OF RAISING SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II WITH EAST AT THIS TIME IN CONNECTION WITH SIGNAL ON PARTICIPATION OF NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN PHASE II. MEMORANDUM WAS CIRCULATED BY US DEL AT SUGGESTION OF SOME MEMBERS OF AD HOC GROUP TO PULL TOGETHER IN CONVENIENT FORM PERSONAL VIEWS OF US DEL ON THIS SUBJECT AND WAS CIRCULATED IN GROUP FOR INFORMATION ONLY.

2. WASHINGTON MAY FIND MEMORANDUM USEFUL BACKGROUND

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PAGE 02 MBFR V 00102 01 OF 02 211903Z

IN FORMULATING GUIDANCE FOR USNATO FOR NEXT SPC

DISCUSSION OF PARTICIPATION ISSUE.

BEGIN TEXT:

3. IN ADDITION TO TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH IN

THE REPORT OF THE AD HOC GROUP TO THE COUNCIL ON THE SUBJECT OF PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II, IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THE FOLLOWING POINTS BE KEPT IN MIND IN DECIDING THIS QUESTION.

4. THE FOCUS OF THE PRESENT EAST-WEST DISCUSSION IS ON THE ISSUE OF WHAT OBLIGATIONS THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US MIGHT BE WILLING TO UNDERTAKE IN PHASE I WITH RESPECT TO PHASE II. IT IS NOT ON THE SEPARATE ISSUE OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II. ALTHOUGH THIS ISSUE IS HIGHLY IMPORTANT, FROM A TACTICAL VIEWPOINT, IT COULD MOST EFFECTIVELY BE TACKLED LATER. FOR THIS REASON, REFERENCES TO SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II SHOULD NOT BE CONTAINED IN THE CONTEMPLATED ALLIED SIGNAL ON PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II. THE PRESENT SIGNAL SHOULD ADDRESS ONLY THE QUESTION NOW AT STAKE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, WHAT OBLIGATIONS SHOULD REMAINING WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS UNDERTAKE IN PHASE I WITH RESPECT TO PHASE II.

5. IT IS ALLIED POLICY, AS SET FORTH IN PARAGRAPH 34 OF CM (73) 83, THAT SOVIET FORCES SHOULD ALSO BE REDUCED IN PHASE II AND IT IS ASSUMED THAT THE TEXT OF ANY ACTUAL COMMITMENT LATER WORKED OUT WITH THE SOVIETS WOULD INCLUDE THE SPECIFIC REQUIREMENT OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II.

6. FROM THE TACTICAL VIEWPOINT, HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO RAISE WITH THE EAST AT THIS POINT THE ISSUE OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II. THE IMMEDIATE ALLIED OBJECTIVE IS TO BRING THE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF PHASING. TO PUT FORWARD NOW A REQUIREMENT OF FURTHER SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00102 01 OF 02 211903Z

PHASE II WOULD MAKE IT MUCH HARDER TO GAIN SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF PHASING. THAT IS, TO INSIST ON, OR TO SUGGEST, AT THIS TIME THE REQUIREMENT THAT THE SOVIETS MAKE FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II WOULD DEPRIVE THE PROPOSED ALLIED STATEMENT OF ITS VALUE AS AN INDUCEMENT. MOREOVER, RAISING THIS TOPIC NOW WOULD ADDRESS A SUBJECT WHICH IS NOT EVEN ON THE TABLE, RATHER THAN COMPLETING THE ALLIED CASE FOR WHY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN

THE US CANNOT PARTICIPATE IN PHASE I. IT COULD ALSO RESULT IN
STIMULATING A DEBATE WITH THE EAST ON THE CONTENT OF PHASE II.

7. THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES IN VIENNA, INCLUDING
SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES, ARE NOT UNAWARE OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT
THE ALLIES WOULD WISH THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II.

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PAGE 01 MBFR V 00102 02 OF 02 211917Z

44

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0102

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

ON THE CONTRARY, IN THE FEBRUARY 27 INFORMAL SESSION,
THE SOVIET AND EAST GERMAN REPRESENTATIVES BOTH
REFERRED TO THIS ISSUE. THEREFORE, IF THE ALLIES PROCEED
WITH A SIGNAL WHICH DOES NOT MENTION THIS POSSIBILITY,
THE EAST WOULD NOT HAVE GROUND AT A LATER POINT TO CLAIM THAT ITS
REPRESENTATIVES WERE LEFT IN IGNORANCE OF THIS ISSUE.

8. THE ISSUE OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II

WILL INEVITABLY COME UP IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSION
OF THE COMMON CEILING, AND, TACTICALLY, THIS IS A
MORE FAVORABLE FRAMEWORK IN WHICH TO DEAL WITH THIS QUESTION.
WE BELIEVE THAT, WHEN THE ALLIES BRING THE SOVIETS INTO
SERIOUS DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE COMMON CEILING,
AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE
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PAGE 02 MBFR V 00102 02 OF 02 211917Z

THE IDEA OF ASYMMETRICAL MANPOWER REDUCTIONS FOR PHASE I, IT
MAY BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT, AND HENCE
THE IDEA OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II, MORE
DIFFICULT TO RESIST. HOWEVER, PREMATURE TREATMENT OF
THE TOPIC OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II COULD
RISK SOVIET REBUFF AND PREJUDICE CHANCES OF A POSITIVE
RESPONSE ON PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II.

9. TO SUMMARIZE, FROM A TACTICAL VIEWPOINT, THE
INTRODUCTION OF THE ISSUE OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II
INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS NOW, WHEN THEY ARE FOCUSED ON THE
ISSUE OF WHAT OBLIGATIONS NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD
TAKE IN PHASE II, WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. WHAT IS
NEEDED NOW FROM THE TACTICAL VIEWPOINT IS A SIGNAL OF THE FUTURE
WILLINGNESS OF ALL NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS
TO REDUCE, AS A MEANS OF BRINGING THE EAST TO ACCEPT
THE ALLIED APPROACH TO PHASING.

10. ON THE BASIS OF THE POINTS MADE ABOVE, THE MOST
PRODUCTIVE NEXT TACTICAL STEP FOR THE ALLIES WOULD BE
TO GIVE A SIGNAL TO THE EAST OF THE POTENTIAL WILLINGNESS
OF THESE PARTICIPANTS
TO UNDERTAKE A COMMITMENT IN THE
CONTEXT OF A SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT TO REDUCE
TO A COMMON CEILING IN PHASE II. THIS SIGNAL MIGHT BE
ALONG THE LINES THAT, WITH REGARD TO EASTERN QUESTIONS
WHETHER ALL NON-US ALLIED DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD REDUCE
THEIR FORCES IN PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS, THE ALLIES WOULD,
IN THE CONTEXT OF A SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT, BE
WILLING TO CONSIDER A COMMITMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE THE
PRACTICAL EFFECT THAT THE WESTERN CONTRIBUTION TO
PHASE II REDUCTIONS TO AN AGREED OVERALL COMMON CEILING
ON GROUND FORCES OF EACH SIDE WOULD INCLUDE REDUCTIONS
IN THE FORCES OF ALL NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

11. IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT, IF THE ALLIES ARE
NOT SUCCESSFUL IN RESOLVING THIS QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES
SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET THROUGH DEFERRING RE-
DUCTIONS BY OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO A SECOND
PHASE OF NEGOTIATION, THE EAST IS LIKELY TO FOCUS PUBLIC
ATTENTION ON THE RELUCTANCE OF WESTERN EUROPEANS TO
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PAGE 03 MBFR V 00102 02 OF 02 211917Z

REDUCE. GIVEN PRESENT POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN WESTERN
EUROPE, THIS MAY CREATE PRESSURES FOR ACCEPTANCE OF
THE EASTERN POSITION THAT ALL SHOULD REDUCE FROM THE
OUTSET. HENCE, THE ALLIES SHOULD ASSURE THAT THEIR
PRESENT TACTICS VIS-A-VIS THE EAST ON THIS ISSUE ARE
AS EFFECTIVE AS POSSIBLE.
END TEXT.RESOR

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